

**THE GOMERY QUAKE:**  
Why only Quebecers felt  
the Earth move

**THE AFTERSHOCK:** Martin rides it  
out, counting on our numbness to  
scandal—and Chrétien's shadow

# MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE | [www.macleans.ca](http://www.macleans.ca)

APRIL 18 2005

## BELINDA BILLIONS

ON THE TRAIL OF THE  
ONLY GLAMOROUS  
POLITICIAN IN CANADA

**BURYING  
JOHN PAUL II  
'GRANT HIM  
ETERNAL REST,  
O LORD'**

**EINSTEIN  
THE BEST YEAR  
ANY GENIUS  
EVER HAD**



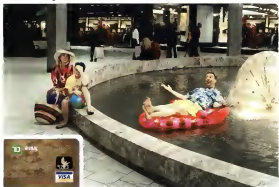
Belinda Stronach in Montreal

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## MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES

### REMEMBERING JOHN PAUL II

The death of His Holiness Pope John Paul II signals for more than the end of a remarkable period in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. It also marks the passing of the most influential religious leader of our time.

That influence helped to shape the world as we now know it. Soon after he became pope in October 1978, John Paul II played a critical role in the fall of Eastern European Communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The most widely travelled pontiff in history, he reached out to other religious traditions, becoming the first Pope to visit a mosque and travelling to the Western Wall in Jerusalem. He also apologized to the Jews for centuries of Christian anti-Semitism.

At times, John Paul II's leadership was highly contentious. His insistence on strict adherence to traditional doctrine on such matters as celibate clergy, birth control and divorce upset many liberal Catholics.

The late pontiff's legacy is the subject of a Maclean's commemorative issue, which is now available exclusively on newsstands. Written by Maclean's staff, including National Correspondents Charlie Gilks and Jonathon Gatehouse and Quebec Bureau Chief Benoît Aubin, the 34-page special issue recounts the major events of the Pope's life and analyzes his tremendous impact on global geopolitics. It features a large selection of archival

photos, including those from his 1984 and 2002 visits to Canada, plus interviews with Canadian and international Roman Catholic leaders. "Probably no modern religious leader has had a more profound and positive impact on so many people over such a lengthy period of time," says Maclean's Editor Ken Whyte. "That influence has not been without controversy, but it's become evident in the last several weeks that his messages of peace and tolerance resonate with a power that overwhelms his critics. Our special issue, nevertheless, assesses his impact in all its dimensions."

Look for the \$9.95 special commemorative Pope John Paul II issue, on newsstands across the country.

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JOHN PAUL II, 1920-2005. PHOTOGRAPH BY THE VATICAN. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE VATICAN. PHOTO BY THE VATICAN.

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alliance, operators usually alerted to the army and air force, are secondary  
Chris Sedler, *Peatonrough, Ont.*

Peter C. Newman describes the Bush administration's proposed anti-crime weapons system as "readap" and says it "will almost certainly never be called into action" ("Our policy maker in America," March 14). Perhaps Newman should take a long, hard, contemplative look at the means. Any one of those cranes represents an impact not survivable on Earth. Missile defense should technology may prove to be our insurance against extinction.

Douglas Martin, *Hamilton*

### How the mighty have fallen

Steve Mach's prediction that "poor" Bernie Ebbers, the Edmonton-born former CEO of U.S. telecom giant WorldCom Inc., would be a free man ("Prosecuting a culture," *All Business*, March 21) actually had me surprised. However, the guilty verdict the very next week ("Convicted," *Passages*, March 28) has proven that there's still hope that justice can prevail even at the top managerial levels of international companies. I hope that other CEOs in similar positions to Ebbers—found guilty of participating in a US\$11-billion security fraud—now realize that their trip to court may not be as easy as they were originally contemplating. It is now that executives are held accountable for what happens under their watch.

Doug Pappalardo, *Shawville Park, Que.*

### Northern reflections

Just as I applaud Peter Marshall's ability to see beyond our daily life challenges, including painful suicide among our youth ("When kids lose hope," *Manitoba*, March 28). He articulates the hope, determination and strength of our people to achieve a standard of living and quality of life comparable to other Canadians, while maintaining our links with our culture and language and becoming proud Canadians in our traditional Arctic homeland.

Joe Bonaguidi, president, Inuit Tapiri Kanatami, Rankin Inlet, Nunavut

I cannot thank Peter Marshall enough for his moving words. In the past 25 years that I have lived in the North, I have lost seven relatives and many other friends, colleagues

## MACLEAN'S 100 | FROM OUR PAGES

### What those technological advances will do to us

HERE YOU THERE fiddling with that video phone—Maclean's saw you coming half a century ago. In a 1955 article titled "What Science Will Do to Us," writer Fred Barlowth predicted that by 2005 telephones would be wireless affairs with video screens, and "It would be flat enough to hang on the wall." Of course, he also predicted that there'd be a helicopter/car hybrid vehicle in every well-heeled commuter's garage, and we'd all be sitting off plastic plates that would "dissolve in hot water and run down the drain."

Throughout its first century, Maclean's has reported on emerging technologies and predicted the shape of things to come—often sounding a little dubious about it all. In 1962, the magazine published a piece titled "What Will It Do to Us?" Once the stuff of science fiction, computers by the 1980s were increasingly ubiquitous, but not always impressive. A 1967 article, written when computer dating involved having one's vital statistics stored on punch cards rather than chattering online, noted that a young man who tried out the University of Toronto's new "couple computer" got matched up with his sister.

Some innovations attempted to improve on nature. Take "shell-less eggs," a product of 1966. Encasing de-shelled eggs in clear, square, ice cube tray-like compartments was supposed to stop breakage and extend freshness. And here's this for a sales pitch: according to the photo caption, each egg compartment it could be "opened like a cigarette pack." —Pamela Young

The joy of '60s computer dating From Our Pages celebrates Maclean's anniversary

and neighbours to suicide. The rate of suicide deaths in acts of emergency. Newman has lost more than 300 people to suicide since 1977. If that was taking place any where else in North America, would it be tolerated? In northern Quebec's Nunavut, there were 79 suicides in a seven four year period, 6.5 times higher than the rate in the rest of the province. The suffering in Labrador is the same. The North showed its capacity to care for them in its generous donations to the insurance victims, despite its own poverty. Can we focus now on it? Please, Canada, help!

Caroline Webb, *she-Anawik, Ontario*

### Terril Schiavo: RIP

It was appalling to learn how the tragic story of Terri Schiavo ended 13 days after her feeding tube was removed ("Terri's cruel death," *Seaside*, April 1). What makes the story more appalling is how the U.S. justice system dealt with this dispute between the

parents of the disabled woman and her husband, Michael Schiavo. It was morally wrong for the courts to give him the authority to deprive her of life support and ignore the pleas of her parents. No matter how caring a husband is of his spouse, that care can never match the concern of parents toward their offspring. Those lawmakers and politicians can neither proper safeguards so that this kind of cruelty will never happen again.

Alvinder Kishin, *Toronto*

As a person living with a progressive neurological disease that may put me in a position where I, too, am dependent on others to care for me, I would like to ask, how on Earth do people feel that they have the right to decide what quality of life is for another person? Withdrawing a feeding tube, by denying something the body needs to survive, is simply murder. Where does it stop?

Anita Berglund, *Thunder Bay, Ont.*

## DIGITAL ELPH



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## Seal hunt | Unmasking the truth in the propaganda war

In the fight for animal rights, the image is iconic: a seal on a bobbing ice floe wrings his club at the skull of a snowy-white pup, the blow sickeningly punctuated by a crimson splatter. The howls of protest that image evoked killed the commercial market for seal pelts in the early 1980s. In 1987, Canada responded to European pressure and made the slaughter of the sea-spotted white-coats illegal. Despite that ban, anti-sealing groups like the Humane Society of the United States, the International Fund for Animal Welfare and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society continue to exploit the image of the photogenic who creak in fundraising campaigns. Their cute mogs have also appeared recently in demonstrations across the U.S. and Europe—much to the Canadian government's annoyance. “If you’re trying to raise money for a cause, you use the most sympathetic images,” allows Fisheries officer Ken Jones, “but I think that’s wrong.”

Arguably, yes—but Canadians still do kill baby seals. Herp seals shed their fluffy white fur about two weeks after birth—and with it goes their protection from seal

kill from the ice floes. French animal rights campaigners demonstrate outside the Canadian consulate in Montreal.

Still, this year’s quota for the \$16.5 million industry is 319,206 harps, the vast majority are killed for their pelts, even fisheries officials acknowledge, before they reach three months of age. Opponents argue that the hunt, which began in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and continues off the coast of Newfoundland, remains barbaric no matter which photo is used. “A baby seal to me is a baby seal,” says Paul Watson, founder of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. Activists say the pups suffer intolerably. Orcas voraciously devour them; the blood on the ice now howling, veterinarians observers in 2002 documented that 98 per cent were killed “in an acceptably humane manner.”

Still, says A. J. Cady, BVAW’s director of marketing, death’s nothing wrong with using whatever it does to home the message. To suggest otherwise, he contends, “is nothing more than a tactic to attempt to distract from the central issue here.”

DARYL HANUSKA

## ScoreCard



**CAPT. ED**  
Minneapolis blogger with Twitterites streak dashes the Grits on “secret” evidence before Gormey inquiry. Website helix vertebrae (public) opinion, mapping judge to left much of political innuendo. It exclusive lost enemy is to loose election, only fair the public knows why.



**TOURISM**  
Industry takes broke blow: gas hits back a later; high value tourist scores off tourist bargain hunters, only to America for Canadians and returning U.S. visitors may soon require passports. Air Canada and U.S. declared to alien world’s longest unlined border?



**SCORING NEWS**  
Advertisers consider plan for scoring ads on basis some suggestions. 1) Object to Meriv Weather An Alternative for Weather You Think You Are. 2) World Games Week Much Too Far Pled for This Book.



**FLORIDA**  
Gov. Jeb Bush to sign Shovel Hour Grand bill giving people right to kill on the street in self-defense. Hard to believe with his (secret) belief in right to life—but not an argument you want to have in a Florida street.

Okay, last night's "big date" in one word? Disaster.



Rebecca is unlucky in love. Fortunately, bad dates make for great stories. With her MSN® Hotmail® e-mail account, Rebecca uses custom features to convey the depths of her pain and disappointment. Hokey for Hotmail, a beacon of hope!

**Quote of the week** | 'Open, open. We are not terrorists.' Chanting pilgrims beg Roman police to remove the barricades to St. Peter's Basilica, where the Pope's body was laid out

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## Mansbridge on the Record



## PLAYING CHICKEN

One of these days, one party won't back down—and we'll have an election

**IN THE LATE 1990s**, I spent a summer living and working in the Prince Albert area of northern Saskatchewan, where legend had it that local teenagers played highway chicken. In the middle of the night, it was said, two cars would come at each other along the centre line, and whoever reversed back into his lane first was the "chicken." Since I used that highway motif night, I was more than a little interested in determining whether local lore was local fact. In the end, I never found any evidence that the midnight madness ever happened.

These days a different game of chicken is going on, and with increasing regularity, on Parliament Hill. We've seen it in various guises, and some might argue none since, since the Paul Martin government's Speech from the Throne last fall. In the past few weeks, we've seen it when the Liberals tried to use the budget bill to push through new environmental restrictions that the Conservatives—who'd promised to support the budget—were dead against. It led to a contest of "my election chances are better than yours." Finally, there's now our ad war and the throne.

And to things to effect go an Parliament Hill, the players thought the people across the land were hanging on every word. You see, the Hill is a city, if not a country, all to its own, and despite a parade of good intentions, nothing seems to change. Whenever a new MP is elected, or a journalist is sent to cover the struggle, one basic condition that would something like this: "I won't lose touch with the outside world." Right. That one out there, I was one of those people who

“

I was one of those people who gradually went to the Hill and, within a week or so, was hooked on a very intimate mentality

gradually went to the Hill and, within a week or so, just like most everyone else, was hooked on what is a very intimate mentality. Suddenly everything off the Hill seemed of little import, while everything on it took on massive proportions. Not everyone falls prey to this optical deficiency, but rebels who lurk in the hallways of the Centre Block are few and far between.

Some argue that decades of this insider attitude have been a central reason for the growing lack of interest in, even disdain for, the political process. Election turnout rates, even with last year's hype, continue to drop, and if a minority government was to change interest levels, as many, including me, expected, there's no evidence that it has. The latest barometer is the dismal TV ratings for the recent conventions of the two leading parties. It's one thing to be beaten by tuning, but respect curiosity?

Now, we're watching a new spectacle unfold with election drama and counter drama, all as a result of the latest, and a stunning testimony from the Gomery inquiry into the sponsorship scandal. Despite a public reaction, it was common fodder for Hill types to talk up the drama from the moment the "secret" testimony slipped from the lips of the inquiry's latest key witness.

At some point, on this issue or another one, no one will back down from the challenges being laid out across the Commons floor that separate the government from those who could defeat it. And when that happens, MPs from all sides will walk out the doorway and head to the hallways expecting an invigorated electorate. They may get it, but the vigour may not be the kind they expect. I never saw *Gomery* on the highway in Prince Albert, but I've not so far about this one.

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of The National. To comment, letter to [comment@cbc.ca](mailto:comment@cbc.ca).

## FaceTime

The shy one

He was the unsavoury tycoon, his fur removed from his brush, bootlegger Uncle Sam as you could find in the same genre pool. But Edward Snowden and younger brother Peter, who died in 1995, still had the funny financial smarts. Together they turned a meagre \$15 million into Canada's largest conglomerate—fifty-five investments led now American Corp.—a \$400 billion behemoth in its heyday, controlling such pillars as Royal



Trust, Noranda, MacMillan Bloedel and the Montreal Canadiens.

Edward died last week in Toronto after a four-year bout with cancer as he lay in bed before also making a quiet name for himself as a philanthropist, backing such as his director as native business and development research. He was 77.



Building for 2000. His grand plan was the Elgin, building crown that is the Yonge-Highway subway station and, in 1994, the first since 1967, he plays mail good for free.

Peter Jennings

The first sign something was wrong, he wasn't in the church's choir during the death of the Pope. Peter Jennings, the highest-profile Canadian in the U.S. news bar, later appeared in a pre-recorded segment, his rich baritone sounds like his. He announced he would be taking a break from ABC World News Tonight, which he has hosted since



1980. The reason he will be undergoing chemotherapy may be long cancer. The 66-year-old news anchor, an ex-smoker, promised that, on his good day, he'll be back in the chair.

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## UPFRONT

### WORLD

**PASSPORTS** Beginning in 2008, Canadian travellers to the U.S. and American returning from a visit to Canada will require passports or some other "secure document" such as a biometric ID to cross the border, U.S. officials announced. If that happens, Canada will likely require the same in return. Public Safety Minister Anne McLellan responded.

Meanwhile, Auditor General Sheila Fraser reported Canada's passport system was seriously flawed and open to security lapses. Her investigation, however, turned up no cases of passport misuse by individuals with terrorist or criminal backgrounds.

**KASHMIR** For two once-warring neighbours trying to come together, it was a powerful symbol: brightly decorated buses from India and Pakistan met to exchange passengers at the heavily guarded dividing line across disputed Kashmir, a war marbled that only two years ago ended with the daily exchange of artillery fire.

Twenty-nine passengers from Pakistan and 21 from India, many of them weeping family members who hadn't seen each other in years, made the first of what are to be regular trips to *defiance* of *Muslim* *fanatics* who attacked and burned a guest house on the Indian side and planned at least two bombs along the route. Four people were injured in one of the blasts.

**ORAL SEX** Almost 20 per cent of *high* *grades* reported having had oral sex, and as many as a third expected to experience it soon, according to a study of 580 mostly 14-year-olds at two California high schools. The majority of students surveyed said they felt oral sex was *safer* than intercourse and, some said, "not really" sex at all.

**DEATH PENALTY** At least 3,797 people were executed worldwide in 2004, the second highest tally in 25 years, Amnesty International said. China led with almost 3,400 state executions, Iran was next with 159.

**IRAQ** The country's ethnic factions finally ended their polarizing sectarian differences and named Kurdish leader Jalil Talabani (right), a former freedom fighter, Iraq's new president. The appointment makes him the first non-Arab head of state in a largely Arab country. Adding to the irony, former dictator Saddam Hussein, whose vicious crackdown killed at least 50,000 Kurds in the late 1980s, was allowed to watch the ceremony on his prison TV. An ex-soldier, Ibrahim al-Jadiri, a Shiite party leader, will become prime minister.

**AMERICAN** Florida lawmakers overwhelmingly approved what's called *assault* *gun*.

**GROUND LAW** allowing citizens to shoot would-be attackers in their homes or public places without first having to try to flee. Florida also allows students to carry one concealed weapon.

**MURDER** Brazilian authorities charged eight military police in *death-squad* *killings* that left 30 dead two weeks ago in two slumtowns outside Rio de Janeiro. The drive-by massacre was reportedly a show of force by so-called *ragu* officers angered that someone in the area had filmed their officers disposing of a body.

**TONY BLAIR** The British PM will make a second term for his ruling Labour Party in an election he called for May 5. Most observers suggested he would pull it off, despite opinion polls showing a modest Labour lead of two or three percentage points over Michael Howard's Conservative party.

**DRESS DOWN** Doing his bit for the environment, Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi ordered cabinet ministers (and asked business leaders) to dress more casually this summer—no jackets and ties—so that office air conditioning can be turned down.

### HEALTH | SCIENCE

**BIONIC EYE** Scientists at Stanford University have designed an artificial eye for the blind—a mini-camera on eyeglasses that

### LIVING WILLS BY THE NUMBERS

When it comes to making arrangements for the Grim Reaper, Canadians are starting to take matters into their own hands. According to a *Maclean's*/Rogers Media poll:

28% have made a living will  
25% have researched or talked about one  
64% have done nothing

In the event of incapacitation, 52 per cent of Canadians want their spouse to make the final decision on life or death, 13 per cent say their parents and 12 per cent their children. Only seven per cent want this determined by a medical professional.

SOURCE: POLLING, CANADIAN LIFE  
MARCH 27 TO APRIL 4, 2005



beams images to a chip implanted behind the retina. The chip translates images into impulses the brain can recognize. Human trials may begin within a year. The device can create 240/0 vision, just enough to see large type and the features of a face.

**MARBURG** The death rate is close to 90 per cent, and nearly all the fatalities are children. Almost as alarming is that Angolan physicians, even with UN help, have not been able to curb the Marburg virus, a hemorrhagic disease similar to Ebola. It has now claimed 156 lives.

**BOZRA** A second popular cricket parkeller—Pitca's Bozra—is being removed from the market in Canada, the U.S. and Europe after U.S. officials said it contributes to heart attacks, strokes and a potentially fatal skin disease. Bozra is in the Cee-2 class of drugs, like Vioxx, the super drug pulled last fall. U.S. regulators also ordered stronger warning labels on over-the-counter painkillers such as Motrin, Advil and Aleve.

## CANADA

**AMENAKWE** On trial in Saskatoon for widely promoting hatred, former national Aboriginal leader David Amekwe didn't

budge from the anti-Semitic remarks he made in December 2002, when he called Jews a "disease" and said they were largely responsible for bringing about the Second World War. Amekwe initially said his remarks were meant as part of a private conversation, the comment about Jews being a disease was made to a reporter with a tape recorder following a dinner speech. As the trial progressed, Amekwe apologized for his remarks and said they were fuelled by a combination of diabetes medication, anger over racial inequities involving natives, and alcohol.



**AUTISM** An Ontario judge gave new hope to parents of autistic children, ruling that cutting off intensive treatment at six years of age is arbitrary and contrary to the Charter of Rights. The province is appealing, however. It says it can't afford one-on-one intervention well into the school years.

**BURSARY BATTLE** Quebec appears to have ended a five-week protest by post-secondary students with its proposal to re-ignite \$103 million a year in bursaries, which had been

replaced by loans. Leaders of two of the three student groups involved in the increasingly violent confrontations with authorities agreed to the plan, even though only a portion of the money comes this year. In a case of swallowing its pride, Quebec was able to cut the deal because of a top up from Ottawa's Millennium Scholarship Foundation, which the province has long viewed as an intrusion on its exclusive jurisdiction over education.

**WAT CITIES** A new study of obesity in Canada found Saskatoon and Halifax have the highest proportion of overweight citizens, 35 and 35 per cent respectively. When it came to provinces, Newfoundland took the cake for obesity.

**SUCKER** He is believed to be the youngest suicide in Manitoba history, quite possibly in Canada's. Shortly after leaving foster care and being reunited with his father and siblings on the God's Lake Narrows reserve, Henry Olenow, 8, hanged himself in his closet—following the example of his brother Buddy, 11, in 2002. According to the medical examiner, his family and Henry talked about killing himself when he was returned to the reserve, they thought he was joking.

## A PRINCE'S STORY

We heard a broadcaster scolded parenting nannies for shooing away young people, as Mr. Somerset Maugham once called it—into a gay resort while parenting, but Prince Andrew of Greece will be remembered more for having waylaid American beauty Grace Kelly at the height of her jet-setting—a love story that captured the world when they married in April 1961. She died tragically in a car accident in 1982. He died that week of a brain tumor at 62, and so to be buried by her side.

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# ARE WE SCANDALIZED OUT?

The latest Gomery shockers may not yield a spring election

**JUST ABOUT** everybody breathlessly described Jean Brault's testimony as explosive. Yet when Justice John Gomery partially lifted the publication ban that for several days prevented anyone reporting on what the former Montreal advertising executive told his inquiry, the boom-lane weekend in Parliament Hill was strangely muted. What Brault described at the Montreal hearings was undeniably shocking, a pattern of backhands that saw his firm, Groupaction Marketing Inc., pay \$1.2 million to the Liberal party over five years, starting in 1997, in exchange for big federal contracts under the now notorious sponsorship program (page 20). Even so, a cautious Stephen Harper said his Conservatives were not ready to face an election. Jack Layton said he needed more time to let Canadians know he was not in a hurry to decide if his NDP favoured a spring campaign. Only Gilles Duceppe was primed to go to the polls, but his Bloc Québécois has been so buoyed by the Gomery effort in Quebec that it was ready to run large-scale ads that it would take time to craft.

So Paul Martin's government seemed in no immediate danger. No one was supposed to be more vulnerable than this: That once has fallen over comparatively trivial matters, like the seemingly routine budget vote that killed Joe Clark's short-lived Tory regime in 1979. What's happening? Martin after now is largely the recipient of many political strategies, particularly Conservatives, that Canadians have developed such thick skins when it comes to scandal that even the gross corruption described by Brault might breeze off. *Julius, Shewchuk*, now the sponsorship affair—who can keep track? And who's to say what's worth going ballistic angry over, and what's a very dirty business as usual? "We've got the bar set so low, it's sad," said Martin's MP Brian Toller, reportedly saying the Tories were willing to let any suspicion go. "My fear is that the public will say, 'Well, this is just politics.' That hurts the honest politicians, including the honest politicians in the Liberal party."



Layton's best hope is for sponsorship outrage to spread sufficiently to drive left-Liberal support to him

Harper's main chance might be to pull the election trigger in early November, when Gomery is slated to report



Sympathy for honest Liberals, though, was not being widely expressed by Conservatives. On the afternoon of April 7, when Gomery announced that he was allowing most of Brault's testimony to be reported, Harper was travelling in the same plane as Martin to Pope John Paul II's funeral. It was left to Tory Deputy Leader Peter MacKay to voice his party's predictable outrage—but MacKay went a little beyond the predictable in his remarks to the government. "There is a mountain of evidence," he said in the House, "that the Liberal government is involved in a criminal conspiracy of the like never seen in this country before." In the *Sky* of the Commons, Justice Minister Irwin Cotler denounced as "impossible" any attempt to draw broad conclusions about guilt from any piece of testimony before Gomery, who isn't scheduled to deliver his final report until late this year. "We cannot start engaging in collective indictments," Cotler fumed.

In fact, Liberals came close to doing what all collective indictments of their own. According to testimony at the inquiry, Groupaction had arranged for \$300,000 collected under the then governing Parti Québécois in 1997-98 to sail down a contract—contrary to Quebec

political financing laws. Martin didn't hesitate to publicly allude to that in the House and try to drag the Bloc, allies of the separatist PQ, into the sponsorship mud. That thickening of the plot created the prospect—undoubtedly offensive to many Quebecers—of other Canadians might see this sort of scandal as somehow endemic to Quebec politics. Martin's Quebec lieutenant, Transport Minister Jean Lapierre, suggested the opposite theory—that a very small circle is to blame. "Right now, for us, it looks like an isolated group of individuals who have abused the confidence of the rest of the party's base," Lapierre said.

With the question of election timing still very much up in the air, strategists for all the federal parties are making some delicate calculations. A guide to what the leaders have to consider:

**MARTIN:** The PM needs time to make his case—over and over—and that he ordered the inquiry to close it. Gomery's final recommendations for how to prevent similar abuse in the future won't come until end December. The Liberals need to hold on until then. "How Paul Martin handles the findings of the inquiry will be more



Tacticians in all parties agree Duceppe would add to his 54 seats in Quebec if an election was held anytime soon

The PM must repeatedly make his case that this scandal unfolded on Chretien's watch, and try to hold on till December

important than the findings themselves," says pollster Mike Nason, president of SES Research. "He has to be prepared to hit the ground running, to act."

**HARPER:** The Tory leader needs voters in Ontario, where he must make a breakthrough, so catch a bit of their Quebec neighbours' sponsorship outrage. But a veteran Ontario Tory engineer said that might not happen unless Martin, an figure close to him, are shown to have known about the deal duggery. "As long as there isn't a direct link to the Prime Minister, Ontario voters are probably willing to overlook it," he said. If Martin remains insulated, Harper's best hope might be to pull the election trigger in early November, when Gomery is slated to deliver his findings. Waiting until December, when Gomery is scheduled to make his final recommendations, would give Martin's Liberals a chance to score points by insisting whenever reform the judge wins.

**DUCEPPE:** The Bloc leader is in perhaps the best, and yet most frustrating, position of all. Tacticians on all parties agree he would add to his current 54 seats in Quebec if an election was held anytime soon. But that's exactly why Harper is unlikely to go on a spree by voting with the Bloc to bring down the Liberals. Still, engineers don't lose forever, and digger over the scandal is deep enough that Duceppe is likely to win big even if an election is delayed until, say, the spring of 2006. After that, many Quebec voters believe he might agree to join to Quebec City as the next Parti Québécois leader. **LAYTON:** With just 19 MPs, the NDP leader is in the awkward position of feeling the votes in the House to watch Martin's manoeuvring over election timing. His best hope is for sponsorship outrage to spread sufficiently to drive left-Liberal support to him. His worst fear, that the surge outrage puts the Tories in position to form a government, pushing those realising left-liberal voters back to the Liberal fold out of fear of a Harper win, as happened in the dying days of last year's campaign.

Understanding how/and the sponsorship scandal was got a lot easier last week. But with the fiery reports pondering such different strategic considerations, guessing the date of the next election isn't too. One thing the Brault testimony changed: the shadow cast by the Gomery inquiry is now unlikely to lift during the life of this ministry, no matter how long that is.

# THE DAY THE DAMBURST

The Gomery inquiry may mark the end of an era in Quebec



WHEN THE DAM finally burst, the dam that had been piling up for more than a week behind a publication ban in the Gomery inquiry and political operations running for cover, and politicians in Ottawa and Quebec City shifting damage control into overdrive. The general public, all ready suspicious of politicians, could only shake its collective head upon learning how the point-widened the corruption around the governing Liberal Party of Canada allegedly was.

Some voters may still have thought the scandal was little more than the sordid tale of Quebec advertising agencies lining their pockets with generous sponsorship programs

Breault's testimony painted a picture of kickbacks, fake billings, and illegal contributions

contracts. They were forced to reconsider after the ban on Jean Breault's testimony was partially lifted by Justice John Gomery, allowing everyone to catch up to what reporters, politicians and the growing media of ready Gomery warblers in Quebec already knew. High-ranking Liberal operations, Breault testified, had an eye-wide-ranging system of kickbacks, allowing his obliging agency to funnel a sizable chunk of an inflated government contract into Lib and party coffers.

In a devastating series of revelations, Breault, president of Grosjean's Marketing, a key recipient of sponsorship funds, said that more than \$1.2 million of the \$66 million he accrued in sponsorship deals from Ottawa between 1996 and 2002 found its way to the party. That money supposedly moved through a series of illegal contributions, fake billings, bogus hearings, kickbacks and, as in the worst Illinois capers, even the envelops changing hands in restaurants. During the time in question,

Breault, 52, and he and his wife pocketed more than \$6 million in salary and dividends. A hulky but dapper businessman known for his penchant for fancy cars, he alleged that, where the sponsorship program was concerned, there was no difference between government and the Liberal party. "We wanted to secure that the main rule recipe to get lucky was to tell a good ear to some requests that the party made to us," he said.

According to Breault, among those who solicited money from him were three men he identified as manhandling the scheme: Francis Corbail, the one-time director general of the Quebec wing of the federal Liberal party; Jacques Gosselin, a close friend of former prime minister Jean Charest; and Alain Renaud, a well-connected lobbyist and Liberal fundraiser.

Some of Breault's most damning allegations

Gosselin paid Renaud more than \$1 million in fees and expenses, ostensibly for the lobbyist to open doors and arrange meetings with decision-makers. But Breault said Renaud got political donations from the company while passing along messages from top Liberals.

Gosselin's firm, *Brandesign Canada*, received close to \$300,000. It was, Breault said, money for "to cover" the Liberal party election. Corbail and Gosselin asked Breault to pay the salaries of two men not really working for him. One was Serge Gosselin, taken on in 1996, he allegedly spent much of the time working on a biography of Public Works Minister Alvin Karpis. Gosselin, under whose supervision the sponsorship program operated. The other was John Welch, hired in 1998, who later became chief of staff for Heritage Minister Lisa Mulroney (Welch stepped down temporarily from his duties on Thursday).

Breault and Gaby Chénier, the former PM's older brother, got \$4,000 for a Liberal policy association, billed as an honorarium.

\$350,000 allegedly went to Quebec Premier Jean Charest's ill-fated 1998 campaign, when he was provincial Liberal leader. Charest eliminated prohibitive corporate donations to political parties, Breault said the money was given to Groupe Vivente, a public relations firm with close ties to Charest.

Breault also said that when the Parti Québécois was in power, he directed his employees to make contributions totaling up to \$100,000 to the PQ war chest in 1997-1998, out of fear of losing a contract with the province's liquor board.

So pointed questions by Gomery about why he felt obliged to make the Liberal payouts, Breault said he had no choice. "Things were going fast, and we didn't think about it too much," he told the inquiry. "We could have said no, but we were told to understand that our contributions were going to be compensated one way or another further down the line."

Reaction came quickly. Federal Transportation Minister Jean Lapierre, Paul Martin's Quebec lieutenant, and the second of



Breault alleged that Corbail, the former head of the Liberals' Quebec wing, was one of three mainstays of the scheme



Charest denied that his 1998 provincial campaign ever received a \$50,000 contribution from Breault

the rush of a small regional election in the federal party in Quebec to attend the Pope's funeral, Charest flatly denied having cashed a \$50,000 contribution from Vivente or Grosjean. PQ Leader Bernard Landry said the province's law governing political donations "the most stringent on the continent" and no irregularities showed up in the party audits. Holding the fort while Charest was away, intergovernmental Affairs Minister Bernard Pélissier urged citizens "not to embark on a witch hunt based on a single man's testimony."

For many Quebecers, though, the damage has been done. Response in the rest of Canada might be somewhat muted, but in this province where politics has long been elevated, along with hockey, to the heights of religion, these latest developments seem like a watershed that marks the end of an era. For Quebec voters, the embroilment of the rest of the country piling over their perceived corrupt political moor is compounded by the indignation of learning that the heady public debate over their future has been hijacked and bogged down in corruption. There's a sense of outrage, and discouragement, is palpable.

From day one, Quebec voters have followed the Gomery inquiry with the fiercest nation usually based on advancing floods or forest fires slowly encroaching a village. The hearings, often tedious, have become a TV phenomenon, with at times more than 200,000 viewers seated in the obscure cable channel that broadcasts them. The public galleries at the inquiry are filled with the sort of regulars usually found in spy trials.

What does it mean? Here, it's as if Quebec's political culture is now crumbling. And the ally through control, among the various parties have played playing the Gomery booby-trap only seem to have made matters worse. Quebecers have lost faith in their politicians, and that's that.

But it's interesting a recently published poll indicated that Quebecers are nonetheless that any other Canadians in any they are better off now than they were five years ago—despite what the daily political news says about how these affairs are being managed. That can mean only one thing: Quebecers think they can look after themselves and their interests without the help of these meddling, self-interest—and often corrupt—apparatchiks.

A new era.



## 'MAY THE ANGELS ACCOMPANY YOU'

As millions watch, the Pope is laid to rest

**BY SAYING FAREWELL**, the faithful repaid his devotion. With an estimated four million pilgrims flooding the streets of Rome, and hundreds of millions more watching via television around the globe, the Polish pope who many are now calling "John Paul the Great" was laid to rest last week.

Aerial applause and chants of "Ite, Missa est" (Send him, Unmercifully!) Pope John Paul II's final journey began with 12 white-gloved pallbearers carrying his coffin—a simple

open casket adorned only with a cross and the letter M for the Virgin Mary—to an open-air altar in St. Peter's Square. The Vatican's Sixtine Choir signaled the beginning of the mass with a Gregorian chant, "Gloria Patri: Gloria, O Lord." The men who will choose his successor, the Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church, are sitting now behind the altar, a staff beaming tugging at their red robes and white mitres. Arranged before the altar were hundreds of dignitaries and

A simple open-air casket for a pontiff now widely considered as John Paul the Great

more than 80 heads of states and monarchs—an unprecedented gathering of the powerful to tribute to a man who ministered to the weak.

The homily, delivered by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, remembered John Paul's remarkable devotion, especially through his fifteen painful last years. "We can be sure

that our beloved Pope is reaching, today as the windows of the Father's house, that he will us and bless us," he said. And after 2½ hours of breathtaking pageantry, a simple ending. In accordance with his request that he be buried "in the heart of the church," John Paul's remains were laid in the crypt beneath St. Peter's massive altar. The only endowment of this coming place, say Church officials, will be a flat stone slab with his name and the dates of his birth and death.

# BELINDA BILLIONS

She's rich, she's powerful, she's glamorous. But is there substance behind Ms. Stronach's style? LIANNE GEORGE reports.

**IF STEPHEN** Harper is the stiff-lipped conscience of the new Conservatives, Belinda Stronach is their resident rock star. When the 38-year-old rookie MP arrives at the Palais des Congrès in Old Montreal to register for the party's inaugural policy convention, she steps off the escalator like a blast of colour amid a sea of navy blue suits and the odd Stetson. Dressed in a vivid green Hugo Boss leather jacket in honour of St. Patrick's Day, striped satin skinny pants, a chunky pearl necklace and taupe stilettos, she looks out of place. Picture Gwyneth Paltrow at a gathering of accountants.

Stronach may not have won the party leadership last year, but within moments the room appears to reconfigure around her. Teenagers and middle-aged men, blushing and shuffling their feet, ask her to pose for a photo. Some whip-out a pen and her old campaign shorts for a quick autograph. Others simply want to gush over the good job she's doing, compliment her on her ensemble, or remind her of the time they met. Smiling or nodding unreservedly, Stronach is patient and gracious. She gets that all the time.

She inches her way toward the registration desk at the far end of the foyer, flanked by attentive young aides who are poised to step in should any of her admirers become too demonstrative. Could this be fun for her? "It's a great honour to be acknowledged for the good work you're doing for the party," she says after a moment's consideration. "I love people. I wouldn't have gotten into politics if I didn't care about people and this country. So, yes, it's fun for me."

Less fun, perhaps, for Stephen Harper. Several hours earlier, the party leader had staged a media photo-op for his arrival. He



**'SHE'S ROYALTY,' SAYS LONG-TIME TORY SENATOR MICHAEL MEIGHEN. 'RIGHT NOW, SHE'S MORE CELEBRITY THAN POLITICIAN.'**

descended on the escalator with his wife, Lianne, waving and smiling stiffly, while a team of Conservative party in yellow Harper T-shirts cheered and shook maracas below. The light reflecting through the building's coloured glass windows made the scene look vaguely ecclesiastical. The fact that, even with the manufactured hoopla, Harper couldn't generate the kind of adulation heaped upon Stronach is a recurring theme—and a source of endless frustration among devoted Harpersites. She's got a lot of style, they say, but where's the substance?

**STRONACH** is a creature the likes of which Ottawa has rarely seen, like something out of a Justin Collins novel. Young, single and beautiful, she's a twice-divorced mom who has been linked by the tabloids to former U.S. president Bill Clinton. She has a pro-business agenda, socially progressive ideas, and the backing of some of the biggest names in Canadian business and politics. In January 2004, when she relinquished her lucrative job as CEO of Magua International Inc. to run for the leadership of the new and untested Conservative Party of Canada, she helped bring fresh oxygen to an organization perceived as stodgy and male. Some say she's accomplished the impossible: she's given the Conservatives a list of sex appeal. In January, Stronach confided to great fanfare that she was dating Peter MacKay—the boyish, blond-powd MP for Central Nova who also serves as deputy leader. They've quickly become the party's "it" couple, generating gossip and intrigue wherever they go.

But while Stronach's star power has been her most valuable asset, it's also a liability. It curiously begs the question: what has she done to deserve it? She is arguably subject to more intense personal scrutiny than any other politician working today, which may simply go with the territory of being a good-looking, high-profile woman in a position of power. But chalking up the criticism to institutional chauvinism is the easy—she has no political grounding, but considerable influence. "She's royalty," says Senator Michael Meighen—something a lot of politicians would give their right arm for. "But right now, she's more celebrity than politician." Some members, particularly old-school Reformers, see her pro-choice stance and her support for same-sex marriage as a threat to the traditional values they view as the bedrock of conservatism. Others doubt her commitment to

Stronach added a new gesture—she gave us a peek into the Montreal convention.

Harper, alleging she is already compromising for the next round—with the support of Mackay—and trying to use her money and connections to hijack the party and transform it into Liberal Lite.

Much was made of the fact that, when she was asked to fill only a minor speaking role at the convention last month, she declined. "I would've been happy to give an address on issues I'm passionate about—economy, jobs, prosperity, competitiveness," she later said. "But I wasn't asked to deliver a message of substance." Some interpreted this as the behaviour of a diva, who, not landing the starring role, chooses not to perform at all. "With something like that, I think you just do what is asked of you," said one Conservative MP who preferred not to be named. "One of her advisors is going from CEO. Everybody would like to be first and centre all the time, but the reality is we have one leader, and everybody has to support that leader and be along as a team."

Still, there has been a great show of public support—externally and from within the party—for her work in Parliament and for her value added major league business experience. Many believed that after her leadership loss to Harper in March 2004, she would flee back to Magna, the multi-billion dollar auto parts empire founded by her father, the formidable Frank Storch. Instead, she campaigned hard for a seat in her home riding of Newmarket-Aurora in southern Ontario in last June's federal election, ultimately winning by a mere 699 votes. Her peers now say she's one of the most decorated and well-loved MPs in the Conservative caucus, serving as international trade critic, speaking out on issues of cooperation, relations with the U.S., job security and youth involvement. When she's not in Ottawa or attending to her riding, she's flying across the country giving speeches, listening to local concerns and attending fundraising events. "She wants to learn and she's learning very quickly," says Liberal MP Bernard Patry, who chairs the standing committee on foreign affairs and international trade, of which Storch is a member. "She's a team player and she asks good questions. She doesn't want to be a star queen. She wants to do the job of any other MP."

**BY THE TIME** Storch makes her way back to the Hotel Intercontinental, where she'll stay for the duration of the convention, she's

## NO CONSERVATIVE, FASHION-WISE



pressed enough flesh to push even a mild gossamerphobe over the edge. In person, she is down-to-earth, even a little shy; she's attractive, but not intimidatorily so—more to a stylish-scorer moon-ocot dose kind of way. And her corruption to the by Parliament Hill standards—with a penchant for Armani,

Gucci and Chanel—she's clearly uneasy with the glamour-girl talk. "I get asked, 'Who are you wearing?' quite a lot," she says quietly. "I buy what I like, what I'm comfortable in. And fashion is fun. It's part of pop culture—it's nothing I take too seriously." Before Storch announced her run for the

## A WEALTH OF CONNECTIONS



Storch has been linked to president Clinton, teased by Mercer, hugged by actor James Coo and schooled by former Reform leader Preston Manning.

leadership, she briefly accused the services of Bonnie Brownlee, who formerly served as Brian and Mike Maloney's consultant. But she decided against any help during the campaign. "Bonnie Storch knows what the winks," says Brownlee. "She doesn't need a lot of help when it comes to her

look and the image she wants to portray." Storch winks when Harper's leadership victory speech is mentioned. But she shrugs her, but added that "she presented significantly more glamorous than I could bring." The comment was widely interpreted as a not-so-subtle dismissal of her as a candidate

But she's not willing to forgo the fiery "Play—if people say I bring glamour, that's fine," she says. "I'd like to think it's more of a positive energy. For me the substance is important. Hopefully I can add value to the debate we have in the House of Commons."

If she feels the need to play down anything, it's her personal wealth—in 2003, she drew a reported \$74 million salary at Magna—which the coroners is not something the average Canadian voter can relate to. Storch likes to remind people that when her father immigrated to Canada from Austria in 1954, he was extremely poor. "He came with a few dollars in his pocket and the house he owned a tool-and-die maker." And she points out that she had a "very regular suburban upbringing." Storch grew up on a current block house built by her father on the outskirts of Aurora, Ont., attended public schools along with her younger brother, Andy, and worked for her father in the summer, photocopying or doing basic accounting work. "We weren't always well-off," she says. "It was more so in high school, when my father had a number of factories already, that people in the community started to recognize there was success there."

By the time Belinda was 21, Magna was pulling in over \$1 billion a year in sales. In the 1990s, Frank Storch built the opulent gated compound—featuring a golf course and stables—in Aurora that serves as the company's corporate headquarters and home to the family. But, Storch says, "it was always important to me that people be not for who I am as a person, not for the money or what you can do for them. So I was very sensitive, not boasting about things."

**TRYING TO GET** a sense of what's behind the buffed and polished image is tricky. Storch's guarded style makes her somewhat inscrutable. Publicly, she's not one to crack a joke or make an off-the-cuff remark. She becomes most animated when speaking about the issues she's chosen to champion—the economy and job creation. But too often the sounds as if she's reading from a set of prepared briefing notes filled with statistics and glumard. Conservatives, she says, need to "focus on issues that start us from coast to coast." On the economy: "Canada needs to be able to compete in this global economy. We must have a vibrant economy, so we can build good social framework." On Canada-U.S. relations: "Canada



## AFTER HER STUMBLING ENTRY INTO THE LEADERSHIP RACE, THE PRESS CHEWED HER UP, LABELLING HER RUN 'THE BLONDE AMBITION CAMPAIGN'

is a great ending reason—we have to approach the relationship intelligently and look for win-win scenarios.”

Even her explanation of why the activist politics first didn't stick. “Public service is important,” she says. “Especially if you're more domestic and well-to-do—there's a greater responsibility to give back.” Her involvement began behind the scenes: Storaach is widely credited as one of the main movers behind the December 2003 merger of the Canadian Alliance and the old Progressive Conservative party. According to her, she'd grown tired of more than a decade of Liberal rule and felt Canada needed a strong opposition party. She already knew MacKay, she says, then the leader of the Tories, having done some fundraising for him. She didn't know Harper, head of the Alliance, but she called him to broach the idea, arguing a coalition would be for the good of Conservatives everywhere, and reportedly holding out the carrot of an infusion of much-needed funds. “I conditioned the meetings so that merger discussions could take place,” she says. When those talks resulted in a united party with the promise to end “11 years of unchallenged Liberal government,” she says, the arrangement was so tight for her to publicly enter politics.

There are, of course, those who say Storaach has taken too much credit for the merger. “She's not the mother of that accord,” says William Johnston, political analyst with CBC and author of the upcoming book *Stephen Harper and the Future of Canada*. “The most she did was bring them together, but that was like one step in a mile-long journey to union.” Brian Mulroney, Peter Meints and “all the big money men,” Johnston says, were pushing both sides, warning that the parties weren't going to open until there was a coalition—a lengthy, painful

process that involved hefty compromise on both sides. “I do think part of the reason her role was so magnified is that she's a good-looking billionaire's daughter,” he says. “If she had been ugly and 85 years old, no one would have ever heard of her.”

And there's more than one version of how the merger transpired. At the time of the negotiations, MacKay was lauded in the press for his selflessness in accepting a union, given the unlikelihood of his becoming party leader because of the Tories' weakened support and poor financial status. But some conspiracy-minded Conservatives now say that MacKay and Storaach were involved even during the talks—and that her intention all along had been to seize the leadership of a united party. According to this scenario, MacKay, unimpressed, put his ambitions on hold to further Storaach's career.

**FROM THE MOMENT** she announced her candidacy for the leadership of the new, united party, there's been frenzied speculation about Storaach. She's been immediately criticized for her lack of clear ideas, for having a poor grasp of policy, for refusing to take part in network-hosted TV debates with her rivals, Harper and Tony Clement. She repeatedly used clichés, and fought charges that she wasn't up to the job with blunt bluffs, “I know what I know and I know what I don't know”—as though admitting to inexperience was tantamount to overcoming it. She grew chewed her up, labelling her run “the blonde ambition campaign,” and dubbing her “Paul Martin in a cocktail dress.”

But she had powerful connections—and when the early media pressure seemed too much to handle, one member of Magna's global advisory board stepped in. Brian Mulroney contacted his former press secretary,



Mark Entwistle, and asked him to help Storaach's campaign. “I joined her about a week into it, and tried to sort of bring order into the whole process,” says Entwistle. “Brian believes she has great potential and a great future.” Storaach ultimately put together the best campaign team money could buy, which included veteran organizer John Laschinger, Ontario Tory strategist James Watt, and Rod Lowe, a long-time Reform politician. In addition to Mulroney, she also had the public support of former Ontario governor Mike Harris, currently on Magna's board of directors, and Bill Davis, who retired from the board last summer.

Though Storaach lost, she won a bigger portion of the vote than anyone initially thought possible. “Because of her background and the boards she's sat on, she has a constellation of networks which are amazingly deep and wide,” says Entwistle. “People whom she knows and who think a lot of her and who give of their time freely if she needs them.” Just some of the perks of being Frank Storaach's little girl.

She began working full time at Magna in 1986 after a one-year stint at York University, moving up the ranks quickly and getting elected to the board of directors in 2008, at 25. Seven years later, she made vice-president. When Magna found itself seeking a new CEO in 2006, she says, the management team met to the board and recommended she take the helm. “My father wasn't so keen at the time,” she says. “But it's our share publicly and if you own it, it's in a very public way.” She was appointed CEO in February 2007.

In just a few years from the arrival, she's down to earth, even a little shy.

Her pedigree comes with a price. The drawbacks that Magna made connections to the persistent suspicion that she's the public face first of private interests, and not the one making the decisions for Steelcase. Similar criticism surrounds her work at divo company. Current and former Magna employees quickly scoff at her leadership style, alleging that her father was pulling the strings all along and that she had very

little involvement in day-to-day operations. “Richards was never equipped to do that job,” says one former executive. “She doesn't know what the plants do, doesn't know the processes, doesn't even know, other than broadly, what each of the groups do. You can't talk business strategy with her—because she's not a strategist.”

IT'S 7 A.M. on day two of the convention and Storaach, looking fresh in a tailored platinum suit, a crisp white shirt and crocodile belt, is having breakfast at the hotel and examining the previous day's coverage of herself in the newspaper. She reads aloud a reference to MacKay at her boyfriend, and rolls her eyes. “Boyfriend? I'm sure he'll appreciate that.” Curiosity over the couple's relationship is intense, particularly given how carefully they appear to monitor their public interactions. Of course, a fascination with Storaach's personal life far predates MacKay.

She's been married twice, most recently in 1999 to Johnatan Olav Koss, a Norwegian Olympic gold medal-winning speed skater, who signed a prenuptial agreement. They divorced in 2000 for undisclosed reasons, and a slew of rumors that Richards had been seen covering with Clinton. (Their photograph had run in the *New York Daily News*, with the caption “Rubba's blonde girl.” She denies any romance.) She is said to have had a friendship with John F. Kennedy Jr., having met with him a week before he died, reportedly to discuss meeting in his political magazine, *Grange*. Earlier, she was married to Donald Walker, currently co-CEO at Magna, and the father of her two children, a son, Frank, now 15, and a daughter, Nikita, 11. They divorced in 1993, and Storaach shares responsibility for the children with Walker and his new wife.

She and MacKay have made it a concerted effort to keep their relationship out of the spotlight. At the convention, they maintain a distance, always keeping their conversations guarded and professional, even at social functions. (They've spoiled several times at the International, though it's unclear whether they're staying together.) The couple has had requests to speak jointly at many charity events, but have so far declined. “We have our own distinct identities,” says MacKay. “For Richards, she is new to this and I don't want to impact negatively on what she's trying to do in terms of making her mark

international politics. "We're not trying to pre-empt ourselves as a political couple. We're more focused on personally getting along."

Somewhere Mackay and Storchach have managed to maintain a relationship despite the fact that, since Storchach entered politics, her life has been a whirlwind, with a schedule—orchestrated by the Maidment's dachshund at home—that appears to be more complex and demanding than the Prime Minister's. "I did travel a lot in CEO," she says, "but the difference with politics is it sticks up more of the weekends. It really is 24/7." In Ottawa, she resides at the Château Laurier, but most weekends, the commutes back to Aurora to spend time with her children and to keep on top of goings-on in her riding. "I had to work hard to win my seat and I don't take that for granted," she says. Free time—to spend with friends, or even catch a movie—is not something she has a lot of. The mercurial (but two years ago, she bought a place in Old Montreal, "while I was still CEO and had a good psychique") 3's an old building that's being gutted and restored. The renovation will finally be complete this summer, she says, although she doesn't imagine she'll have a lot of time to spend there. Despite her repeated pledges to modest spoken French, her command of that language is well demonstrated: some of the best heavily criticized for dour leadership campaign. Although she says, with uncharacteristic playfulness, "After a glass of wine, I loosen up a little bit. I kept saying I have to get a French boyfriend, but I don't know if there would really go for that one."

IT'S MIDDAY, and the conversation plenary session is well underway. Storchach collects one of the white beaded lunches prepared for delegates, can only the apple, and rouses her notes. "This will be the most charged moment of the weekend: the party is voting on a resolution to support same-sex marriage in its constitution. It's a complex moral issue," Storchach said earlier in her cautious way. "I believe in the right to choose some sex marriage when it comes to civil marriage. I also believe in the rights of church as to choose whether or not they wish to perform same-sex marriages based on their principles. I've always stressed it's important to have a free vote." (Mackay, for the record, supports the resolution. "We voted it at the dinner table," says Storchach.) She's been accused by the more conserva-

## PRESSING THE FLESH



In addition to the people she does know in Montreal, like Mackay (above) and broadcaster Bob Hawkins (below), Storchach is besieged by delegates asking for an autograph or to pose for photos.



tive wing of the party or not exhibiting respect for the institution of marriage. Craig Chénier, the CEO of an advocacy group called Concerned Canadiana Inc., has referred to her as "a well-known blond who has successfully infiltrated the new Conservative Party of Canada." At the convention,

she's also the target of a group called the Defiant Marriage Coalition, devoted to pressuring Storchach and other "irresponsible MPs" to change their name. When her supporters speak against the resolution, Storchach stands at the microphone, nose in hand, and delivers a brief, methodical plea. "We're

## FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES

Former politicians on Magna's board of directors have boosted Belinda Storchach's political career. But for sheer depth, says STEVE MARCH, you can't beat Power Corp.

IF THERE'S ONE THING Belinda Storchach must have learned in her time in the corporate world, it's the importance of having friends in high places. Magna International Inc., the auto parts company founded and controlled by her father, Frank Storchach, has always made it a habit to fill its board of directors and executive ranks with well-connected former politicians, both Liberal and Conservative.

Magna's board currently includes former Ontario Tory premier Mike Harris, and Ed Lundy, who served as minister of industry in Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government of the early 1980s. Another former Liberal cabinet minister, Doug Young, and Liberal Dennis Mills, who served as parliamentary secretary to the minister of industry, are directors of another of Storchach's companies, MI Developments. Last year, Brian Tobin, the Employment and Federal Finance minister and ex-governor of Newfoundland, had a brief stint as chief executive officer of MI. Tobin resigned after six months from Storchach's corporate empire—taking with him a percentage of some \$2.5 million—around the time that long-serving board member and former Tory Ontario governor Mel Lastman also stepped down.

It's not just Canadian politicians who have found their way into the Storchach family business. Franz Wenzel was chairman of Austria from 1998 to 1999, when he joined Magna's board. This year, Storchach named former U.S. ambassador Paul Cellucci to an executive position with Magna Entertainment. Magna also has a global advisory board, which features such luminaries as former prime minister Brian Mulroney and Mexico's past president Ernesto Zedillo.

But even this long list of contacts can't even the myriad political connections boasted by Power Corp. The board of that Denonair, Montreal-based holding company includes Dan Mazurkewicz, Mulroney's former deputy prime minister, John Kins, brother of one-term Ontario premier Bob Rae, and Senator Michael Pelford, chief of the privy council under Trudeau in the 1970s and '80s.

And the current board doesn't begin to describe the depth of Power Corp.'s political ties. Alumni include Daniel Johnson, who worked his way up to vice-president at Power before moving into politics and becoming

Quebec premier in 1994. Prime Minister Paul Martin was also an executive under Desmarès until he bought Canada Steamships Limited from Power Corp. In 1985, Jean Chénier sat on the board of a Power subsidiary in the late 1980s, during his hiatus from politics. Like Magna, Power also has a global advisory committee that has included such stars as Trudeau, former Gemina chairman



Belinda Storchach, and Paul Cellucci, former chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve.

Such relationships are not a corporate cure-all, however; that point was made clear by the troubles at Gemma Black's Hollinger International, whose unparalleled network of board members and advisers included Henry Kissinger, former Israeli governor James Thompson, and Britain's legendary former prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

Nevertheless, few Canadians could rival the connections Belinda Storchach made in her brief tenure as head of Magna. By the time she got involved in the talks to merge the Canadian Alliance and Progressive Conservative parties, she was already well prepared to cross the enormous ideological line between politics and business. With backers like Mulroney, Davis and Harris already in her corner, her career change was more of a hop than a leap.

STEVE MARCH

## SHE PLAYS DOWN HER WEALTH

—IN 2003, SHE TOOK HOME A REPORTED \$7.4 MILLION

here today because we want to form a government," she says. "I believe in doing that we need to reach out, broaden the base of support. Vote against this resolution." At one table, young men stand up and applaud. Others in the crowd aggressively boo.

"She's definitely, definitely wrong," says long-time Tory volunteer Elise Wayne enthusiastically after Storchach's speech. "As far as I'm concerned, when you're talking about the traditional family, that's the foundation of our whole culture." Alan McDonald, delegate from B.C., agrees. "Any of the MPs that have lived up to a sense of gay marriage will never be leader of this party," he says. "Other wise you'll start Reform Party 2." The resolution is passed with an overwhelming 74 per cent support. The crowd swarms Storchach to ask how she feels about being booed by fellow party members. She gives a quiet smile.

Back in the room with her crowd. He asks Storchach to do a bit for his Monday Report, the four newscast he hosts for the CBC. "I'm asking you not to make too much like a complete idiot," she says. Her task is making a few lines from the April 19th song "Don't Stop Believin'" for a video he's working on. "I have a terrible voice," she pleads, wanting to play along but clearly not then thrilled to be open to ridicule. She smoothes the lacy white Merlot over the neck. "I'm not singing, I need a strong-shorts woman to get me through the night," she jokes. (Later, Mercer will lament: "Starts of Mackay singing this line.") The music starts; Storchach sings in a thin, nervous voice—overstated, everything'll be alright / Come on, come on, love me tonight / And I'll be yours / I'll be yours—up while Mercer keeps time with his foot and the camera man weaves around them to produce false psychedelic effects. By the time they've done







## HOW OPEC LOST CONTROL

When it comes to driving oil prices, the cartel is no longer at the wheel

**AS YOU ROLL UP** your car this week and come at the surging price of gasoline, spare a moment of pity for the ultra-rich godfathers of Middle East oil. The pain you're feeling is not of their making, you see. That oil crunch was born in the world's financial capitals: New York, London and Tokyo. And for the shadowy sheikhs and dictators who rule over the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—the men who've pulled the strings on the world of oil control for the past 45 years—it's very nearly a disaster.

OPEC has lost control over the world petroleum market and, like all truly tragic disasters,

the oil barons have no one but themselves to blame for their slide into irrelevance. After years of lying, cheating and market manipulations, OPEC has become the proverbial cartel that ate its own wolf. Wall Street speculators are now running the energy market, and there's no telling how high prices will go, or how fast they might crash once the current oil mania peters out.

The disaster signs of OPEC's impotence arrived in mid-March. The cartel's member nations—Saudi Arabia, Iran, Nigeria et al.—used to churn out another 300,000 barrels of crude a day in hopes of cooling runaway prices that had soared above US\$80 a barrel. Not so long ago, the mere mention of an OPEC production increase was enough to send prices tumbling. With the cartel stop-

pling close to 40 per cent of the world's oil production, few would dare challenge its power in the market. But this time, markets barely flinched. Prices kept rising.

Within three weeks, OPEC was talking about another boost to production, and again in three-to-five months. Last week, oil prices were trading above the US\$85 mark and many analysts were warning of further gains. Goldman Sachs, one of the world's biggest investment firms, issued a report suggesting this may be the beginning of a "super spike" sending prices as high as US\$105 a barrel.

And while the market surges are pumping waves of cash into oil-rich nations, the short-term benefits are far outweighed by the long-term implications of OPEC's loss of control. Ever since its waning in 1960, OPEC has dedicated itself to fixing world energy prices to the advantage of member

nations. This required a delicate balancing act: ensuring prices remained high enough to enrich the oil barons and low enough to foster economic growth and the West's addiction to oil. It also provided a potent foreign policy weapon for the region.

At last, it was supposed to. OPEC was plagued with problems from the start. Its sensitive reality and outright cheating meant that daily production "quotas" were never anything more than guidelines, routinely flouted by members intent on squeezing a few cents back out of the petroleum trade. The oil embargo of the 1970s proved to be such a disaster that when countries, such as Iran or Iraq, would later threaten to cut shipments to the U.S., others, such as Saudi Arabia, would promise to make up the dif-

ference with Bloomberg last week. "Those who believed OPEC all these years are sitting there now. They don't see a barrel's a billion anymore, and OPEC is just a matter of time."

Speculators and hedge funds are now in the driver's seat. And while OPEC dedicated itself to stability, these pro-market won't-always-be-evil. The recent move in oil prices might well be a crash, but that won't bother the traders, because they can make money regardless of whether prices are rising or falling. The same fund managers who crashed the technology boom and bust are now placing billion-dollar bets in the energy market based on little more than a hunch.

In this new reality, fundamentals such as supply and demand are trumped by momentum and rumor. Recent data from the U.S. Department of Energy shows crude oil inventories have been growing steadily and are higher than normal for this time of year. This is the kind of data that would normally send prices crashing immediately, but it's not taken notice when the media are on a roll. The frenzy finally cooled after late last week, when Fed chairman Alan Greenspan warned of an imminent drop in oil prices.

No matter how the roller coaster ride in oil continues, for the strongmen behind OPEC it's worse. As we saw in the 1970s, when energy prices spiraled out of control the world looks for alternatives. In this new era of super spikes and inevitable crashes, the boom-bust cycle will force people toward conservation, new technologies and new sources of supply in places like Canada and Asia. As J. H. R. Amstutz explained in his 2001 book *Managing the Oil World*, OPEC already needs the West more than the West needs it, and that slow erosion of the cartel's power goes deeper all the time.

Pity the poor oil barons. It couldn't have happened to a nicer bunch of guys.

Read Steve Marich's writing, "All Business," at [www.enr.com/stories/allbusiness](http://www.enr.com/stories/allbusiness)

## AN UNNATURAL DISASTER



Photo: Images, © Steve Marich  
Photo: Images from Darfur board to Evan Lerner Images

An unnatural disaster is devastating the Darfur region of Sudan where civilians are fleeing in terror from government-supported mass murder. Human Rights Watch documented a horrendous campaign of ethnic cleansing by the government of Sudan and its allied militia fighters, known as the Janjaweed. Acting with full support from the Sudanese government, these militias targeted civilians and have murdered, raped, burned, and pillaged.

Thousands are dead and millions have been forced from their homes. Millions more are at risk. It is an immense human rights catastrophe that it can be stopped. Strong political action is needed immediately. We know that people are being killed. We know who is doing it. And we know exactly what will happen if we do not act.

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## GRITS AND RED HERRINGS

Forget the PM's histrionics. There's a logical way out of the gay marriage mess.

**PAUL MARTIN** and his government have conspired to present to the country the proposition that the matter of same-sex marriage is settled and that the Supreme Court has upheld the view that anything less than making marriage equally available to persons of the same gender is a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and therefore unconstitutional. This simply isn't so, and if the Prime Minister doesn't understand it, then his justice

minister, Irwin Cotler, certainly knows it. Cotler is among the best lawyers in Canada. He knows that the Supreme Court (or any other court, for that matter) has never been asked and has never answered a question about the constitutionality of the alterative proposal by Stephen Harper: that gays be allowed the same rights, benefits and obligations as any married couple, but without the title of marriage. Cotler reminds one of Jacques Parizeau, a defunct economist, who always asserts what he knows could not be true—namely, that the separation of Quebec from Canada would have no economic cost.

If Canada were to adopt a regime of civil

unions for gays and lesbians, it is virtually certain that this would be found to be constitutional, and that it would be so without the need for governments to invoke the notwithstanding clause in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The idea would be that, from this forth on, would flow all of the rights that attach to marriage under our laws, federal or provincial. Persons in that form of union would be eligible for a pension, could adopt children, seek to separate from their partners or to terminate the union, be entitled to alimony, support, including for any children in their custody, give

or withhold consent for their partners' medical treatment when the individual was unable to do so, inherit even in the case of intestacy, receive social benefit entitlements and enjoy, without limitation, every other benefit our legal system offers to married people.

There would love those who feel that their status has somehow been lessened by the withholding of the term "married" in the impossible legal position of claiming a right to a word. It would be very unlikely for the court to accept the proposition that the Charter guarantees that citizens can use about names/clare. As an example, when I was a university undergraduate, there was

a quote for [a] few being admitted to McGill [well documented by Mercedes Redler in his famous 1992 book, *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec!*]. Had I been inclined to become a doctor, and had

It's wrong to say nothing less than marriage would be constitutional.

there been a Charter of Rights and Freedoms in effect at the time, I could have said to have the quota set aside, but I could not have said to be called a Gentle.

The Charter protects rights, not words, so Canada's legislators have already appropriately acted to ensure that particular civil consequences of marriage are available to people in other forms of unions, including gays. That is how we got here in the first place: on a practical basis, specific rights have already for the most part been accorded to same-sex couples. But if the court has said that same-sex marriages would be constitutional, it has not excluded other means of guaranteeing the same rights for all.

Which brings us to why it is worth re-examining the concept of civil unions in the courts, ideally after Parliament has adopted it. I recognize that, to a large extent, the fight is about the word (the tiny Grits who sport the lapel buttons that read, "It's about the Charter, stupid," are wrong). But here's the rub: to millions of Canadians, the concept of same-sex marriage is terminologically synonymous. Their status as married persons

is something they elected, often in the context of a belief system, extending it to emphasize specific social status. They are not reactionaries or retrograde or insensitive or out of date, and recent being cast as such. They are generally hard working, law-abiding, taxpayer, God-fearing people who believe that there is no need for social

**CIVIL unions for gays would be a way to avoid the spectre of a province invoking the notwithstanding clause**

progress to be made on their backs.

Amazingly, in polls conducted by the Conservative party, those who oppose gay and lesbian marriage would overwhelmingly accept the concept of civil unions outlined above. They understand that society has an interest in stable, long-lasting and exclusive relationships among homosexuals. If Liberals choose to call those relationships

"marriage," please spare us the harmonies over other, equally constitutional, ways of achieving equality of rights.

Establishing a recognized regime of civil unions would not, of course, satisfy those religious leaders whose opposition to gay marriage is founded on deep-seated religious beliefs about homosexuality. Nor would it put an end to the polygamy and bearing, and civil unions limited to two persons could presumably give rise to discrimination claims. But it would enable us to resolve this issue with some defined consensus, instead of having a divisive wedge driven into our society.

It would be utterly irresponsible not to permit a mature debate on the issue as part of the next election campaign. The PM and his justice minister might be surprised to find out how many Canadians feel they have been bulldozed on an important issue of rights without them or the courts being allowed to consider all of the options. ■

Stanley H. Hart, former chief of staff to prime minister Brian Mulroney, is an active member of the Conservative Party of Canada.

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# A SMALL PLACE TO THINK BIG

Ideas and deep pockets are transforming Waterloo

IN JANUARY 2006, Jim Balcells, the chairman and CEO of Research In Motion, convened an odd collection of scientists, diplomats and assorted other thinkers at his cottage on Ontario's Georgian Bay. John English, a musician and former Liberal MP, was there. So was Paul Horvath, then Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. David Johnson, the president of the University of Waterloo, Margaret Warner, the *Globe and Mail* columnist, and several others.

Balcells didn't make his guests wait long to hear what was on his mind. "He said, 'We're

making a stupid amount of money and we want to do something constructive with it,'" Horvath recalled.

"Stupid" was about the right word for it. In 1999, Waterloo, Ont.-based RIM had introduced the BlackBerry wireless email device. The little black boxes had already become required hardware in various niche markets in business, media and politics. Even the bursting of the tech market bubble in 2000 didn't stop several RIM executives, including Balcells and his partner, Mike Lazaridis, from becoming very rich indeed.

But almost as soon as they started making serious money, RIM principals began giving away. They're slow to cash in their philanthropy as in their entrepreneurship. The results are beginning to transform Waterloo, a quiet little city that used to be indistinguishable from 25 other quiet Ontario towns.

Balcells's Georgian Bay cottage conference gave rise to the Centre for International Governance Innovation, an audacious international politics think tank in Waterloo. Balcells gave \$20 million of his own money into the project. Lazaridis added \$10 million. Mike Barnatani, another RIM principal, and his wife, Louise MacCallum, later dropped in more than \$3 million. CGI's style (and as a key meeting place for serious thinking about the future of global government). Last week, it played host to a major conference on United Nations re-

form barely two weeks after UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan released his report on the subject.

But this would be just another heart-warming tale of philanthropy if CGI was the RIM principals' only external project. In fact, it's not even the biggest. Across the street from CGI's upstairs headquarters is a converted Simpson's warehouse in Mike Lazaridis's own pet project: the sleek, clean new home of the Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Physics.

If CGI is about the future of the world, Perimeter is about the future of everything. It has already become a magnet for dozens of mathematicians and physicists from around the globe. They arrive in for a few weeks or several years at Perimeter's stunning new building, designed by the Montreal architect Bessier

+ Perrette. The researchers are fed plenty of expensive and surrounded with natural light, comfortable chairs, crates of chalk and vast expanses of blackboard. They are given no specific project to accomplish or gadget to design. Instead, Perimeter researchers are free to ponder "foundational questions": the deepest secrets of time, space and matter.

For this, Lazaridis donated \$100 million of his RIM profits. Balcells and yet another RIM principal, Doug Hoegs, added \$10 million each. Why? Because it was engineering students in the early 1980s at the University of Waterloo, Lazaridis discovered that the



courses that excited him most were the ones that dealt with the biggest, most abstract questions in science: Quantum physics. The music of black holes. String theory.

The closer he looked at the way the universe works, the more you find phenomena that are "almost non-sensical," Lazaridis says. "But that non-sensical nature is specifically why computers work. Laser work. All these amazing technologies work because the quantum world is so bizarre. But it has rules we can use to produce effects."

So, as an undergrad, Lazaridis told himself it would be good to have a place where

the brightest minds could pursue the pure research that historically has driven technological advances. Two decades later, he decided that place would be in Waterloo.

Why? "One of the great things about philosophy is that, you know, you can change the world as an community at a time," he says. "Pick your community, if it's got all the ingredients that make sense to you. And the academic community. We've got less than 100,000 people and we've got two universities and a community college. And not just any universities: we have, like, the top university in Canada. It's the first and most

successful co-op school in Canada. Computer engineering. Computer science. The biggest math faculty in Canada."

In three and a half years of operation, Perimeter has built a formidable reputation in international physics. "The Perimeter Institute is viewed worldwide as a potentially leading place if on development can make the way it does," says Armin Zeilinger, a leading physicist at the University of Vienna who delivered a public lecture in Waterloo last month. "Actually, considering the short time of its existence and the fact that it is still expanding, I would rank it

already now among the world's top places in theoretical physics."

Sooner or later all six philanthropists are to become co-owners. Balcells and Lazaridis each contributed money to the other's pet project. Lazaridis donated more than \$3 million to the University of Waterloo's Institute for Quantum Computing, which seeks to apply theoretical physics to a new generation of computers whose speed and capacities would be unprecedented.

Over at the new Waterloo Regional Children's Museum, Barnatani and his wife, a former RIM employee, contributed \$5 million

to lead a \$87-million fundraising drive. The couple have given \$12 million to the Kitchener and Waterloo Community Foundation to set up the Musages Fund, which is contributing to a myriad of smaller arts and culture-related projects around Kitchener and Waterloo.

Of course, the philanthropic impulse comes beyond the RIM alumni. The University of Waterloo is more than 88 per cent of the way to its \$260-million fundraising goal. Two years ago, Klaus Werner, founder of one of the first Waterloo tech firms, Associates in Tooling Systems, donated his palatial country house to CIGI, and it now serves as a venue for smaller conferences and to put up international guests in comfort. In the Waterloo area, says John English, CIGI's executive director, "there always have been people with money in their pockets. It's tended to stay in their pockets." Over the RIM, principals started spreading the wealth, "there's been an opening of pockets."

Why the extraordinary generosity—and why so early in the lives of the RIM principals, who are almost all still in their 40s? "This sounds glib," Balsillie says, "but it comes to a point where it's easier to make money than to give it away responsibly. So you have to be active and responsible or you're just squandering it. And I thought, alright, well do something when you have the wherewithal to influence in productive application, rather than dying some day and some great administrator decides everything."

The new burst of energy only accentuates a broader transformation that is especially striking to English, a businessman by trade who served from 1983 to 1997 as MP for Kitchener (Kitchener and Waterloo are so close they appear to be one city in any vector. With nearby Cambridge, they are marking themselves as "Canada's Technology Triangle." The longest line in the triangle would be about 45 km.)

"I was a history of Kitchener that ended in 1951," English says. "And it was very pessimistic because the industry went the rubber industry, the meat industry, there was the remnants of a human industry, there was a leather industry that was dying. And there were auto parts shops, and people were already saying the auto industry was dying out. And I had to rewrite the history in the late 1990s because, unexpectedly, there was this flowering of new industries.



English left sees the generosity of Balsillie and others prodded an outpouring of donations.

things like RIM, things like AES. It just transformed the community."

Over lunch at last week's UN conference, a few Canadian participants grumbled privately that the only problem with an organization as ambitious as CIGI is that it's stuck in a backwater like Waterloo. It's the kind of talk that annoys Luzzatto and Balsillie mightily. But what is far more impor-

**"THIS sounds glib," says Balsillie, "but it comes to a point where it's easier to make money than to give it away responsibly."**

tant is that their rebuttals are so persuasive. "The implied assumption is that we're obscure," Balsillie says. "It's a colossal assumption. We're not obscure because that most of the other places I've had to go [to] tried to get to Redmond [Redmond, Wash., is the headquarters of Microsoft, the mightiest of RIM's rivals]. It's a pain in the butt. We've got to fly there, drive 45 minutes. We're incredibly central—we're 45 minutes from Pearson airport."

Generous donors and good location can take you pretty far. The next step is a dose of vision. Luzzatto appears to have found that, in the unlikely person of Perinotto's bookish, bearded executive director, Howard

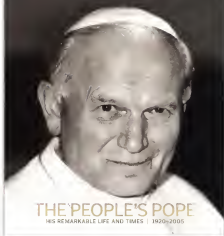
Burton. In 1994, Burton was fresh out of Waterloo with a Ph.D. in theoretical physics and no particular idea about what to do next. He'd landed a job on Wall Street, doing mathematical finance for brokerage firms, very lucrative and exceedingly boring. So he wrote to the CEOs of a handful of firms, asking whether they had a better idea.

Luzzatto called him back. "They had 'a lovely conversation,'" Burton recalls, but he still wasn't sure what role he might play at RIM. "I said, 'What do you want me to do, sit in a real job?' And Mike said, 'I don't want you to do anything. If you want you to think.' So six years later, it has become more complex than that. Burton founded Perinotto, contracted the architects for the new building, raised the world's best faculties for bright young talent, organized an audacious and wildly successful public outreach program that gives ordinary Waterloo residents regular access to the most exciting new ideas in science. But sometimes, even today, he just thinks.

"There would have been very few people who would have bet on the IBM patent of fee as a place for the incubation of revolutionary physics in 1994," Burton says. "In fact, when a patent clerk named Albert Einstein did his five great weeks the next year. 'I think we've got an off-scale opportunity here,'" he says, referring to all of Waterloo. "We're in a small town. We shouldn't pretend we're in anything other than a small town. But we have an opportunity to get as far as his legendary, dashed expression goes—a critical mass at a very high level."

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**MACLEAN'S 100**



# IT'S ALL RELATIVE

The latest equation: Will celebrating Einstein equal renewed glory for physics?

**EXACTLY 50 YEARS** after his death—100 times he stunned the world with science's most famous equation,  $E=mc^2$ —time is once again dancing to the imagination of Albert Einstein. In his honor, the United Nations has designated 2005 the International Year of Physics, and there is not a developed nation anywhere, Canada included, without a full slate of public lectures, unveilings or theatrical presentations.

A prime target of all this attention is today's teens, who don't know much about Einstein

save for his famous mug, and who have been flying away from physics studies as if they were energy-sucking black holes. Once the big dog of modern science, the stuff of movie shows, Cold War intrigue and Star Trek's warp-speed popularity, physics has slowly lost its pre-eminence. To try to entice a younger generation back into the great mysteries of the universe, science muses all over the globe have been busily crafting Einstein-related laser shows, computer games, commercial high school projects and robotic competitions. There's even an "Einstein flip" for the BMX bike crowd who, like the great scientist himself, live to defy the old rules about gravity.

For enthusiasts already lost in the space-finite continuum, this year brings the fruits of NASA's much-delayed US\$700-million probe, currently on orbit. Basically a giant, liquid helium-filled vacuum flask, it boasts a perfectly crafted set of gyroscopes designed to prove that most monumental of Einsteinian theories: that big objects like Earth lag their own space and time with them as they revolve the universe.

Meanwhile, those who'd just like to pay a quiet, if slightly tacky, homage can join in the great light show (<http://www.ey2005.at/photo/light.htm>). On April 16, the anniversary of Einstein's death, his laser-day colleagues at Princeton University will flip on a series of flashers that will, it is hoped, spread its riley westward across North America, then on through Japan, China, Southeast Asia and Europe before reconvening to

leap yet another ocean and arrive back at Princeton 24 hours later. A kind of cosmic crowd-sire like at football stadiums, this is a tribute to a man whose inspiration, he once wrote, came from imagining what it would be like to ride a beam of light. In the process, mind you, he upended 300 years of scientific tradition, showed that light can bend and that energy and matter are flip

**"WHAT'S" magic about 100 years ago is progress was achieved. There was a succession of breakthroughs.**

sides of the same phenomenon, and created the understanding that led to the development of lasers, photonic circuits and, of course, the atom bomb.

For some, like Philip Stamp, director of the Pacific Institute of Theoretical Physics in Vancouver, this year's celebrations are merely "a good excuse for a party." He's not being totally facetious. "The simplicity," he says, "is that there were two incredible revolutions in physics: the only part of the 20th century"—Einstein's theory of relativity, as well as quantum mechanics, which he helped pioneer but never fully came around to believing in. "The popular 1965 is publishing a little bit," says Stamp. But at the same time, he adds, "What's strange about 100 years ago is that progress was achieved.

There was a succession of breakthroughs."

Others, though, are taking this year's events much more seriously, as virtually a last gasp for a revolution that—despite a swarming of glamour projects—seems in danger of peering out. "There is no question the physics community is trying to leverage Einstein," says Clifford Will, a Canadian-born physicist at Washington University in St. Louis and author of *Was Einstein Right?* (Short answer: yes.) Of real concern is that doctoral degrees in the physical sciences dropped almost 12 per cent in the U.S. between 1990 and 2003, the largest decline in any field. In Canada, post-secondary enrollment in physics was a mere 3,970 students in 2001, just 2.3 per cent of the science and engineering total. (A more modest sign of the 100,000 people who have rallied for the around-the-world light relay, only 107 are in the U.S.—and just six in Canada.) "Without young people to keep things going forward," says Will, "the whole technological base of a society can suffer."

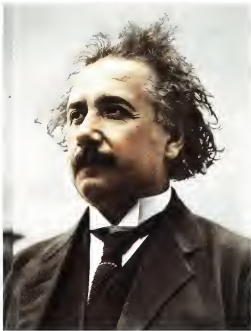
One possible reason for the dropoff is that physics has become bogged down in ultra-theoretical pursuits like string theory which only a handful can understand. Meanwhile, funding and students are flowing in rivers to genetics, biology, computers, even environmental studies. Stamp, for one, is not overly perturbed at the trend. "Funding and enrollment," he says, "have nothing to do with how fundamental the questions are"—and everything to do with what government and industry want in the short term.

But does Einstein share the blame for today's woes? Did he, for all his contributions, ultimately lead physics into a black hole? Certainly his life had a remarkable arc from obscure 26-year-old patent clerk in 1905 to Nobel Prize winner in 1921, celebrity scientist, arch-humanitarian and

it's been 10 years since Einstein's death, 100 since his "miracle year" revolutionized science

peace activist and, every mother's favorite, the arch typical late bloomer who didn't do well at school

Physicists are right to call 1905 his "miracle year," in the space of about nine months, he wrote and published four papers in a



logical conclusion is that time is, well, relative

By the time Einstein landed at Princeton in the early 1930s, his reputation was made. Experiments done during the solar eclipse in 1919 proved his theory that light could be bent by gravity and made him a world celebrity. Later surveys would identify him as the most influential human of the 20th century. But his later years were riddled with self-doubt. Part of this was the bomb in 1939 he warned President Franklin Roosevelt that the Nazis were working on an atomic weapon. The Americans rushed to build one first but, as a lifelong pacifist, Einstein was agnostic when it was actually used on Japan.

As well, Einstein could not accept the notion of quantum physics which, in its exploration of sub-atomic particles was transgressing science with rules that could not be pinned down. His refusal to believe, as he famously said, that God plays dice with the universe, meant he would spend his last decades in the Den Quotie of science. He searched in vain for a single satisfying theory of everything, a theory that would explain how things worked from the subatomic bouncing about of atoms particles right up to the cosmos.

This is the same search that animates the string theorists and others, says Will, not unkindly, though he professes to understand only the broad strokes of what they are on

about. He sees it as an example of how Einstein's legacy lives on in the quest for the one elegant theory to encompass all of nature. It's a simple concept perhaps that, as Einstein once said, the laws of physics should be explainable to a bartender. Of course, all through history people thought they actually knew how the world worked, until some one like him came along.



## FRESH WIND FROM THE WEST

Scott Tannas is poised to challenge the power of the Big Five banks

WHILE I profoundly sympathize with Western Canadians' frustrations about feeling left out of the mainstream, I've always thought that they were using the wrong tactics. Instead of pressuring politicians for senior federal cabinet posts, what they really need is their own bank. That's where the power that counts resides in this country, and that's how you gain individual leverage.

Now, the West may be in the process of getting a big bank, thanks to Scott Tannas, a youthful 43-year-old who runs an unexpectedly lively financial conglomerate out of High River, 35 km south of Calgary, with low overhead and high expectations. When I asked him recently to define the limits of his ambition for his Western Financial Group, Tannas replied: "Our big, hairy, audacious goal is to be the strongest financial institution in the West by 2020." He then added: "Our management team is young enough to make that goal a reality, but it's far enough in the future that nobody can debate us about it now."

Tannas began from a standing start in 1993, buying Hi-Alta Inc., a small insurance company that provided some banking services. Similar purchases followed, and today his financial group has a customer base of just more than 200,000, and a bank loan portfolio of \$50 million. That hardly qualifies him as a major player. But neither can his fledgling firm be dismissed as an eccentric in vainful dreaming. Western Financial Group finished 2004 with revenues of \$42 million, up nearly a third from the previous year, while profits doubled. The total assets of his companies now exceed \$200 million.



Our big, hairy, audacious goal is to be the strongest financial institution in the West by 2020

Tannas put together his and steel conglomerate by buying up a regional Western Financial network. It boasts 54 locations and 600 employees west of Winnipeg, mostly in Alberta, including banking fac-

ilities (Bank West), several insurance companies, in-house mutual fund dealers, and a Calgary investment broker (Jennings-Capital). What makes Tannas's mini-empire interesting, and fuels its potential, are his

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Peter C. Newman | >

alliances with powerful friends and associations with world-class financial houses. In March, he added a significant piece to the group, negotiating a joint general insurance venture with Harvard Development. That's one of the many corporate arms of Paul Hill, a Saskatchewan multi-millionaire, whose family is a leading player in insurance (having also once owned Crown Life), real estate and broadcasting, and has significant oil and gas interests.

Albert's most likely next partner, Jan Dinning, is chairman of Western Financial, and Gabor Jakab, a former vice-chairman of Seagram's, is a director. Other Tinnis connections headline the heart of the Montreal Anglo business establishment with such power brokers as Robert MacDougall, Philip Webster and Jan Robb as its boosters and investors. France's AXA SA, the world's largest insurance company, owns about six per cent of Western Financial. Other multinational players with stakes include Holland's ING, England's Royal & Sun Alliance, the U.S. Wells Fargo operation and the insurance firm, Western Mutual.

Bank West joined charter bank status in

**"WE INTEND to build an up-close, personal, hold-your-hand kind of financial institution"**

December 2002, but enjoys an advantage not shared by the Big Five, which can own an insurance company, but can't sell their products over the counter in their branches. Because Bank West has assets under \$1 billion, it can and does sell every kind of insurance policy.

Tinnis says there's a benefit to living and operating in small communities. "When you know everybody in town, you quickly recognize who the good credit risks are," he claims. "We intend to build an up-close, personal, hold-your-hand kind of financial institution that the West has never had." His expansion formula is unusually based on the small-town ethic that has local in terests at heart. It's just about impossible to phone a bank branch these days, and even queues to head office are often answered by call centres on other continents, where operators know nothing about local

conditions. Tinnis counts on the comfort customers will derive when it's Aunt Gleny or Cousin Albert answering their calls. "The time is right," he says, "for a financial institution that will build and retain a depth of expertise, and the ability to respond to the appetites and needs of the Western Canadian market—an institution for which the West is home, so that it stays engaged in our economy through all business cycles."

Like most Western Canadian businessmen, he is disillusioned with the average Bay Street's approach to the Prairie economy as an afterthought, and the dismissal of Canada's heartland as "fly-over country." Tinnis cites the hardship of WestJet as one example of what can be achieved. But his role model is the Quebec-based National Bank which, along with Desjardins and the cause popovers, trump the market share of the Big Five in French Canada. "The West and Quebec," Tinnis maintains, "share similar attributes when it comes to regional passion being transformed into support for regional enterprises."

The Big Apple in the sky, the transaction that Tinnis hardly dares mention during our interview (though we both know it's the key to his success), would be the takeover of the Alberta Treasury Branch. Established in 1928 to ensure a stable banking presence in the province, it was once a leader of the west. Today ATB Financial is a thriving concern with 600,000 customers and more than 1,600 employees. Former Ralph Klein has reportedly pledged to provide ATB, but the timing has never seemed right (loan problems with former Edmontonian Glen's owner Peter Zuckerting and the West Edmonton Mall were among the roadblocks). But because the Alberta Conservatives have over the years privatized Pacific Western Airlines, Telus, Alberta Energy, liquor stores and just about anything that moves, Tinnis is optimistic that Klein's farewell gesture might be a boost to private banking in his home province.

Western Financial is perfectly positioned to bid for ATB if it comes up for sale. Certainly, Tinnis has the guts, the know-how, the connections and the clout to be the candidate to best in any future auction of ATB's considerable assets. If successful, the move would turn Tinnis's insulator baby into a powerful \$14 billion financial institution. Change it happens, as Jeff Christensen and I say, "the better the sooner." ■

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# DIGGING OUT OF A DEEP HOLE

The sad state of Canadian golf—and how to catch up

**YOU PROBABLY** haven't heard of Jon Mills. The Ottawa, Ont., native is a pro golfer, but he wasn't at the PGA Tour's recent and tiny Players Championship in Ponte Vedra, Fla., where 82 of the world's top 100 players competed for the US\$1.4 million winner's prize. And he wasn't invited to last week's Masters in Augusta, Ga., so he didn't have a shot at the season's first major title in men's golf, or the green jacket and seven-figure cheque that went with it. Instead of walking among the fabled anachronisms at the famed Augusta National Golf Club, Mills planned to watch on television like millions of other golf fans. His next tournament on the Nationwide Tour, golf's Triple A circuit, is the Virginia Beach Open, where the winner takes home US\$81,000. "The Masters is always awesome to watch on TV," he said from his home in Indiana, Pa., "but I'd rather be playing in it."

It's tempting to say dream on. Mills' recent success has glossed over the fact that, for decades, there were precious few Canadian sightings at the Masters. Don't blame our

Mills and others hope to match the success of Weir (far right)

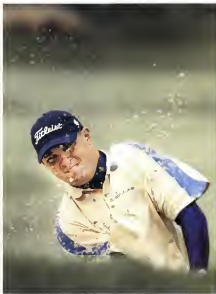
climate. For ages, the Royal Canadian Golf Association seemed to do little more than keep its members in shiny-buymen's blazers as programs fell behind the rest of the intensely competitive golf world. Then came Canada's long pay-five from catching up in the elite Players Championship field, then two-time Canadian (Weir) and unreplicated Trinidadian (Stephens Arnold) and 14 Australian-born Canada had the world's highest participation rate, but historically, it hasn't a meaningful development system, only the most flimsily talented and unfortunates ever reached the top—people like Marlene Stewart Strout and Sandra Post, George Kazandjian and Weir.

Still, the 27-year-old Mills has hope. He has a solid game, he has improved each year, and he'll earn a PGA Tour card for 2006 if he maintains his top 20 standing—he's currently 10th—on the Nationwide money list. And if Mills does ever get to Augusta, some credit goes to the RCGA. In the mid-1990s, it launched the Future Links development plan, stealing ideas from successful countries like Australia and Sweden, and devising its own methods that now are being copied by others. "We've always had lots of players at the elite amateur levels, but not many getting past that," says Henry Brunson, the national men's team coach. "Now we're seeing more Canadians on pro tours, so it really is working."

The system still fails girls, however. The same programs are available, headed by national coach Dean Spriddell, and there's a history of excellence in Canadian women's golf, from Ade Mieszkowicz to the amateur team that finished second at last year's world championships. But Future Links has not attracted many teenage girls, leaving the ranks of Lorie Kane wannabes thin. So a girls club has been added to make the every-

levels less intense and more social. "We've got to do more to get little girls interested in playing the game," Spriddell says. "We're done a bad job of it so far."

Deag Barthug, the RCGA's director of player development, is optimistic about Future Links, but cautious. He started playing in his early teens with his pals, hitting trick shots on the range, getting seriously into tournaments. And that wasn't often: since there were only a handful of tournaments each season. Now, the Canadian Junior Golf Association (affiliated with the RCGA) and Future Links stage more than 200 events each season. "There are so many," says Barthug, 34, who won 13 provincial and four national titles. "To me, there's not enough time for creative play, like we had."



The absence of a support system didn't hurt amateurs. But it did hurt kids who wanted careers in golf. Uninspired, three-time LPGA winner Dawn Coe-Jones put her own way to Lamar University in Beaumont, Tex., in 1978, and had to play her way into the golf team and into a scholarship. And college doesn't always help. There's lots of practice time but little instruction, and at big schools only half the players are the team to play in tournaments. Then, turning pro is expensive—you don't get paid unless you make tournament cuts, but you're still on the hook for food, travel, accommodations

and caddy fees. "We'd like to help more, but we're an amateur organization," Barthug says. "So some of these players turn pro, they're out of our hands."

What the RCGA finally grasped is that, in the Ben Hogan tradition, great players are made more than born. They need natural ability to compete, but they win because they are well prepared, physically and psychologically—they do more than just beat thousands of balls on the practice range every week. Mills needs high performance camps where he and other up-and-coming teens are instructed in swing mechanics,



nutrition, fitness, tournament scheduling and how to handle media interviews. The program helped him choose a college scholarship (Ohio's Kent State), it sent him to international amateur events, and at one of the RCGA camps, he met the teaching pro, Dave Woods, who remains his coach today. "We are trying to develop the whole person," Brunson says, "hoping that, out of that, the best-performing athletes will emerge."

It's too early to judge if Future Links will produce any Tiger-killers or challengers to Annika Sorenstam. Brunson says most players spend years as pros before they're ready

to compete against the best. Weir played seven seasons on minor circuits before he earned a PGA Tour card, and it was five years before he won the Masters. That said, there's excitement about a glorious group of B.C.-based juniors. Dennis Wallace was 15 when he won the 2004 Canadian amateur against men more than twice his age. Raphael Lee, at 16, won last year's Canadian under-19 par title. Many regard Richard Lee as the best 14-year-old in the world. But golf officials hope they won't have to wait for that group to mature to find the best 10 Post and Kazandjian. Mills hopes so, too. **M**



# MARTHA'S TURN

Another Wainwright-McGarrigle kid bares all in confessional songs

**MARTHA WAINWRIGHT** would like a drink, but the waiter has other business in mind. "Are you Martha?" he asks. "Martha Wainwright?" When she nods yes, he continues: "It's me, Blue. God, I haven't seen you in ages." Wainwright's reaction is less than enthusiastic—this definitely is not a long-lost friend. He asks her a few questions about life back in New York before getting to the point—“So, how's Rufus?” Wainwright takes it in stride. “He's good,” she says of her famous older brother. “Really good. He's sober.” Martha, on the other hand, is in need of a margarita.

The 28-year-old daughter of U.S. singer-songwriter Loudon Wainwright III and folk legend Kate McGarrigle (of Canadian singer duo Kate and Anna McGarrigle) is at the South by Southwest music festival in Austin, Texas, to create some buzz for her self-titled full-length debut (out this week). Her sound is folk with attitude, rock rock to cabaret, country and rock. Armed with an acoustic guitar and a backing band, she plays two gigs at the festival, and a late partying and a lot of media.

Wainwright readily acknowledges that being from a famous family garners her extra attention. She considers herself lucky, and isn't about to pull a Jakob Dylan, refusing to talk about her folks. Instead, she pops an Ecstasy and dives right in. “My parents were really on the rock when she got pregnant, but they were going to have me anyway. They didn't put the married life.”

When Martha was three months old, her mother took her and Rufus from New York State to Montreal, Sarcelles, the siblings would tour folk festivals with their dad and their mom (Wainwright uses the term for Aunt

Anna, too). “I remember it being a fun time,” she says. “It was like we were the von Trapp family and forced to sing on every song. We would get up and sing on a couple, and then spend the rest of the day running around the hedges in the grass.”

One festival stands out. At the Newport folk gathering, when she was eight, Martha and Rufus got called up on stage to sing their father's hit *Dead Skunk* along with him. “There's actually a snapshot of it. I have a giant smile on my face and look very happy, very relaxed, and I remember that feeling of, ‘I really like this. I'm feeling very comfortable.’ Since then, I've probably become much more insecure and nervous.”

Insecurity comes up a lot when Wainwright talks about music and family, especially Rufus. She admits she was jealous of the attention he got early in his career. It took a long time for Martha to connect to the family business—there was a 10-year gap between writing her first song, at 18, and her first full album. “I was very tempted to do something other than become a singer-songwriter. I didn't think I had a chance, because

Rufus was such a strong force—in a great way. I didn't think there was necessarily room for me. I didn't want to be the one who couldn't do it—to be torn apart by the press.”

So far, so good. An EP she released in January prompted *Rolling Stone* to name “the next hot songstress.” And U.K. critics have been fixating over the new record, especially a diatribe about her father called *Bloody Mother F--- Acolyte Still*, not all the songs are that memorable. And the confessional woman-with-guitar genre is not currently in vogue. But Wainwright contends she doesn't miss instant success—“I can live vicariously through my brother.” She already has. Martha has toured with Rufus in opening act, backup singer and drinking buddy. “I was right behind him in that rock 'n' roll sense. And his whole experience with drugs and alcohol has been an eye opener; you cannot be a total dribbling f--- up in this situation, because people are watching.”

When Wainwright finishes her margarita, she looks around for Blue, the waiter. He arrives and gives her a piece of paper with her phone number and a message that reads, “Hi to B.” Wainwright is polite, but what she was really looking for was the check. **D**

I didn't want to be the one who couldn't do it—to be torn apart by the press”





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Ben Wrightman, age 7, goes to his first Boston Red Sox game and is given the following advice: "Combined, they'll break your heart." And they do, for the next 34 years. In turn, the adult Ben (Jimmy Fallon) breaks the heart of every girl who imagines herself

**Fever Pitch** is a conventional movie—they make girl laugh, boy makes girl cry, boy wins girl back in front of a stadium full of baseball fans. But Fallon is a laugh-out-loud funny. And the storied Fenway Park is an irresistible character all its own. With all the love stories going on in this movie—city and country, fan and ballpark, guy and girl—you'll likely find something to root for. **SAATCHI 6/28**

1. *Never*, by Jon Mitchell
2. *The Valley*, by Jane Siberry
3. *Why?*, by Annie Lennox
4. *Mercy Street*, by Peter Gabriel
5. *I'll Laugh*, by Ed Stevens
6. *I Got Doves*, by Kate and Anna McGarrigle
7. *Oh SS*, by Tom Waits
8. *Secret Heart*, by Ron Sexsmith
9. *Sensational Day*, by LO
10. *Across the Universe*, by Rufus Wainwright

FROM THE DIRECTOR OF GLADIATOR



# KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

THESE MEN AND WOMEN WERE ALL BORN IN 1927. FROM TOP LEFT: THOMAS H. D'ELIA, BILLY ROSS, JERRY DOB, DAVID PERL, HENRI KLEIN, JACQUES KAL, LAWRENCE "DADDY" GROSS, HERMAN SILVER, ANTOINETTE JORDAN, AND "COTTON" AND JOE LYNN HARRISON. ALL WERE BORN IN THE U.S. IN 1927. FROM RIGHT TO LEFT: TONY NEWMAN, BILLY COLE, PHILIP MORGAN, BILLY COLE

**MAY 6 ONLY IN THEATRES**





## Wes Williams finishes John Intini's sentences

It's been 36 years since **Wes Williams** (then, **Marino Fresh West**) unleashed the starlet shocker *Let your Backside Slide*. And while he hasn't given up music entirely—he's releasing a remix of *A Criminal Mind*, with 50s Can-rockers **Laurie Goulet**—the Torontoian has shifted much of his focus to acting. He plays Quincy in the TV drama *Meepai* and is in four brothers, the upcoming film starring **Mark Wahlberg**, **Williams, Jr.** Finished *Atlantic* Associate Editor **John Intini's** sentences.

**PEOPLE SHOULD NEED A LICENSE** to take pictures of celebrities when they're all bummed out. I just saw some cheek pictures of my girl **Britney Spears** in the tabloids. It's not just me.

**THE LAST TIME THAT I HAMPERED MYSELF** was on my birthday, when I had a microwave and microwave dance. Let me tell you, my business are great. **MY FAVORITE TEST FOOD**—is a Whopper with cheese and light mustard—milkshake tribute and eat it. **I RECENTLY READ** *Ghenghis Khan* (also by **David Mamet**) I was a big fan of the movie and wanted to see how it had been interpreted. **FEW PEOPLE KNOW THAT** I'm good at sketching. I recently drew a cool *Splinter-Man* for my niece and nephew. **I DON'T UNDERSTAND** why radio stations only play horrible songs.

**FOR MORE "JOHN INTINI'S SENTENCES"** VISIT [WWW.MAGLEANS.COM/PEOPLE](http://WWW.MAGLEANS.COM/PEOPLE)

## Books | Portrait of the artist as a young lady

A famous photograph of Lucy Maud Montgomery, the creator of *Ann of Green Gables*, shows the author in her Greenfield, P.E.I., hometown, her face obscured by a veil. According to Irene Gornwell, editor of *The Janeite Life of Lucy Maud Montgomery*, it is a recurring motif in her subjects' photos and, even her portraits. In her published journals, The *Journal of the Janeite* publication in the past two decades, in fact, caused a sensation with their frankness. They were shocked to learn Montgomery had never loved her husband and listed her role as a minister's wife. But Gornwell and her fellow contributors didn't act that Montgomery would have revealed her life story in her journals, writing key events and revealing others so they were little reminiscent to others' recollections. Discovering the true feelings of "Canada's most accomplished literary woman" is a daily task.



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## BestSellers

Fiction	LAST WEEK
1. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	1
2. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	2
3. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	3
4. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	4
5. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	5
6. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	6
7. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	7
8. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	8
9. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	9
10. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	10

## Non-fiction

1. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	1
2. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	2
3. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	3
4. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	4
5. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	5
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8. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	8
9. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	9
10. <b>THE HUNTER</b> by Michael Chabon	10

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